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joining barrios of the center, namely Santo Domingo, San Miguel, and La Santísima. Table 15 also shows that individuals from the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián marry very little with individuals of the larger barrios. It is noteworthy that there was not a single marriage between the barrio of San Pedro and Santo Domingo. These two barrios represent the extremes in size and are also at opposite ends of the village.

Divorce and Separation: On the whole, marriage is quite stable in Tepoztlán. Divorce as such is practically unknown. However, separations occur and may be initiated by either spouse. In the cases we have studied there were about as many wives who left their husbands as vice versa. The most frequent cause for separation on the part of the husband is that he finds another woman more attractive. Since it is common for men to have mistresses, permanent attachments are often formed and the wife and children may be abandoned. Most of the cases of abandonment are those of free unions. A man will feel greater hesitation at leaving his wife if he has been married by church. Infidelity on the part of the wife is considered a just cause for beating her but it is rarely a cause for separation. A wife may leave her husband if he drinks too much or if he is lazy or beats her too often. Of course, wives are supposed to put up with these things, but some do not. Interference by parents often leads to separations. The local judge, who has heard many cases of marital discord, considers parental interference as the primary factor in most separations.

When a separation occurs, the children invariably stay with the mother. The husband takes no responsibility for his family and makes no contribution for their support. Indeed, it is so unusual for a man to support an abandoned wife that when it does happen it is said that he must have been bewitched. However, when a man continues to help support his wife (*pasar los gastos*) after he has left her, he still retains sexual rights and may treat her as a *querida* (sweetheart). Godparents of the spouses may make some effort to reconcile the couple but this is not always effective. In the past few years the *monjas* (Catholic nuns) who have come to the village have been making a house-to-house campaign to try to unite separated couples and to marry couples who have been "living in sin." They have met with little success, for Tepoztecans resent their activities as undue interference in their personal matters.

As might be expected in a village of this size, separations invariably lead to a great deal of gossip, accusations, and bitterness, and usually involve many more individuals than just the spouses.

Changes in Marriage: The principal changes which have occurred in marriage in Tepoztlán since 1910 are as follows: (1) delay in the age of marriage for girls, earlier marriage for boys, and the consequent development of a period of adolescence and courtship; (2) transition from a system of marriage arranged by the parents, with or without the consent of the children, to one in which the individuals choose their spouses but may follow the formal procedures of having their parents act as intermediaries for the marriage arrangements; (3) elimination of the bride

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did not shoot him. The morning after the battle with the Cristeros, Cortés Sedano was removed to the Cuernavaca prison and two days later was released by the governor with a warning. Cortés Sedano returned to the village and continued his religious work but abandoned the Cristero movement.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH TODAY

The church of Tepoztlán is an integral part of the structure of the Roman Catholic Church and is under the jurisdiction of a hierarchy of authorities, most of whom are outside of the municipio. Most of the characteristics of the local church are similar to Catholic churches everywhere, but a few are unique, if not to Tepoztlán, then to Mexico. For example, the Catholic Church is a highly centralized, authoritarian organization in which officials and prelates are appointed by their superiors and in which all policy is laid down by those in high positions. But in Tepoztlán, as in other Mexican villages, there is a democratic element in the election of *mayordomos* and a marked freedom in the conduct of all secular aspects of religious affairs, such as the maintenance of the barrio chapels, the celebrations of fiestas, and the collection of money for these fiestas.

Added to this type of local autonomy is the fact that the church in Tepoztlán is not a dynamic, militant organization and interferes only minimally in the private lives of the villagers. In general it is tolerant toward practices of magic, sorcery, and paganism, and toward drunkenness. Even the few Protestants have been left to go their own way. This situation is, in part, due to the passivity or disinterest of the local priest, who is himself a native Tepoztecan and tolerant of local traditions.

The arrival of a group of nuns in 1945 injected an aggressive religious attitude in the local church, for these women have actively applied pressure upon the villagers to live more Catholic lives. They have established a school to compete with the public school; they urge parents to attend services, to confess, and to have their children baptized, confirmed, and instructed in doctrine. They make frequent visits to homes, seek out those living in free union or married only by civil law and exhort them to have church marriages, and finally, they have attempted to convert several Protestants.

The complex organization of the church includes seven levels of ecclesiastic hierarchy. (See Chart 3.) The first and highest in the nation is the archbishop of Mexico. He maintains connections with Tepoztlán through the medium of circulars, pastorals, and general orders. Few if any Tepoztecans have ever seen him. Next is the bishop of Cuernavaca who is in charge of the churches in the state of Morelos. He visits Tepoztlán about once every five years, but has been seen occasionally by Tepoztecans when in Cuernavaca.

On the third level in the hierarchy is the local priest, the main figure in the central church of Tepoztlán (see Fig. 50), and the highest spiritual authority in the municipio. The fact that he is a native of Tepoztlán has facilitated his work there. Tepoztecans feel more comfortable with this priest than with all of his "foreign" predecessors, and are less inclined to complain and criticize him. His lack of

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793 mysticism and religious fervor and his attitude of detachment suits them well. However, being a native son has diminished somewhat the aura of respect which generally surrounds a village priest and has encouraged some Tepoztecans to make direct appeals to him to lower his fees and to settle family conflicts and personal problems. He has also been drawn into some small conflicts, a result of which was his being denounced to the archbishop of Mexico City by a group of Tepoztecans.

CHART 3. Religious hierarchy of Tepoztlán.

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792 In the fourth place are the Monjas Carmelitas, the aforementioned nuns, who, 793 although a recent addition, are to reside permanently in the village. These nuns are all outsiders and are treated with great respect by Tepoztecans. In addition to their other activities, the nuns have assumed the direction of some of the religious associations, particularly the *Juventud de Acción Católica*. They have greatly extended the 575 794 activities and increased the membership of these associations and by their work have brought about a religious revival in Tepoztlán.

794 On the fifth level of the hierarchy are various lay functionaries of the church. These are: (1) The sacristan or sexton hired by the priest as his personal aid and caretaker of the church building. Specifically, the duties of the sacristan are to help the priest dress for ceremonial occasions, to memorize several prayers in Latin in order to assist at Mass, to care for the altar and the sacred vessels, to clean the temple, and to keep a record of the priest's religious program. At the time of this study the sacristan was a young unmarried man of twenty of an acculturated family in the barrio of Santo Domingo. He was paid a wage of from three to five pesos a day 465 and more on certain fiesta days when there is an excess of work.

533 (2) The cantor or church singer is an assistant to the sacristan but is selected 465 by the priest and responsible to him. He is expected to play the organ and sing religious songs in Spanish and Latin. He participates in the singing during Mass

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sidies from the church of Mexico. Rather, it makes substantial contributions to the national church of Mexico.

The church of Tepoztlán includes the seven villages of the municipio and controls fourteen village and barrio chapels. This is illustrated in Chart 4.

Summarizing the total personnel of the church of the municipio of Tepoztlán we find the following:

Functionary	*Number*
Priest of the parish	1
Sexton	1
Cantor	1
Mayordomos of the barrios	7
Mayordomos of the villages	7
Monjas Carmelitas	8
Rezanderos	10
Limosneros	42
Mayordomos of the images	28
Mayordomos of peregrinations	15
Functionaries in charge of cleaning the chapels and the temple	37
Total	157

CHURCH FINANCES

As has been pointed out earlier, the church in Tepoztlán not only supports itself but also sends contributions to the bishop in Cuernavaca. It is difficult to do more than approximate the annual income of the church because of variation in contributions from year to year. Records of church income were not available to us and probably were not kept. However, we have more or less accurate data on the most important sources of income. In the following pages we will present a conservative estimate of this income.

BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND FUNERALS

Our data indicate an average of 273 live births in the municipio over a six-year period. There are two classes of baptism, one a simple type at three pesos and the other with the ringing of the bells at four pesos. Assuming that the number of baptisms is about equally divided between these two types, we get a total annual income from baptisms of 956 pesos.

The charge for the *sacumisa* (the Mass said for a mother forty days after the birth of a child) is two pesos if said from the *cancel* and one peso if said from the altar. Again assuming about an equal number of each type, we have a yearly income of 408 pesos.

The priest charges twelve pesos for a simple marriage ceremony and twenty to twenty-five pesos for a more elaborate wedding. It is difficult to determine exactly how many weddings are simple and how many are elaborate. It is our im-

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husbands and wives, a young wife often addressed her older husband in *Vd.*, while he used *tú* to her.

The *Vd.-tú* relationship may also exist between employer and employee, particularly if the latter is younger and is well known to the employer. However, if an employer addresses an older employee in the familiar form, it is a sign of lack of respect and is taken to be an insult. When both persons are of the same age and are not strangers, they address each other in the familiar form.

In pre-Revolutionary days it was customary for wealthy *caciques* to address the rest of the population as *tú*, regardless of age, and to be addressed as *Vd.* Today, wealth plays a minimal role in the *Vd.-tú* relationship, in part because of the absence of sharp class differences, in part because of the humble origins of many of the present well-to-do. The memory of the deep hostility and fierce vengeance of the subordinate population toward the *caciques* is also a deterrent in taking advantage of higher economic status.

Men holding political office or political ambitions are generally careful to avoid the *Vd.-tú* relationship with other adults for fear of offending. They prefer the *Vd.-Vd.* relationship, for they seek many *compadres*, or the *tú-tú* relationship in which they acknowledge friendship or acquaintance with most people of their own age group. However, local officials tend to speak condescendingly in the *Vd.-tú* relationship to more humble Tepoztecans, as well as to people from outlying villages, regardless of their age. This attitude of arrogance on the part of the officials and respect for the authorities on the part of the general population is carried over from pre-Revolutionary days, as is the notion that to speak to the local president in the familiar *tú* adds to an individual's importance. However, within Tepoztlán proper, officials no longer dare to express superiority of status to the majority of the adult inhabitants. Only the priest and nuns maintain an *Vd.-tú* relationship with the rest of the population.

The *tú-tú* relationship is an intimate one and is used between husband and wife, sweethearts, and children. It is also used between two people of the same sex and of approximately the same age. However, in Tepoztlán this *tú-tú* relationship does not always imply intimacy, but rather the possibility of intimacy. Thus, it is from the same age group that the *cuates*, drinking companions, singing companions, and so on, are drawn; but for the rest, the *tú-tú* relationship may be almost as reserved and formal as *Vd.-Vd.* In this, Tepoztlán and other rural villages differ from the city where the use of *tú-tú* is reserved for only the most intimate friends, all others of the same age being addressed as *Vd.*

At least among the school children and older students there is a tendency toward urban usage of *tú* and *Vd.*, that is, the custom of having fewer but more intimate *tú* relationships and a greater number of *Vd.* relationships. Traditionally in Tepoztlán, although members of the same sex and age group continue to call each other *tú*, there is a marked withdrawal from intimate relations as they get older and particularly after marriage. The *tú-tú* relationship is undoubtedly a potentially dangerous one to continue, because of the equality of status and the possibility of

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588 [587] was still living, and remarriage by church or civil law was ruled out. Many widows with children prefer free unions, to be free to leave if the stepfather abuses her children. Some women promise their dying husbands not to remarry, to protect the children. Some of the most stable marriages in the village are cases of free unions. Most of the younger people living in free unions are cases of *raptos*.

Every few years, on the day of the barrio fiesta, the priest visits each barrio to marry all those living in free union. Sometimes there are many couples who, followed by their children, line up to be married. The nuns in the village have been [792] campaigning since 1945 to have all free unions legalized.